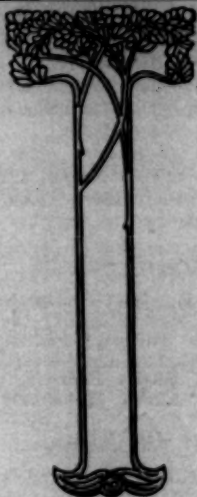


# The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage  
29 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 2  
No. 2



THE BALLOT A BURDEN,  
NOT A PRIVILEGE

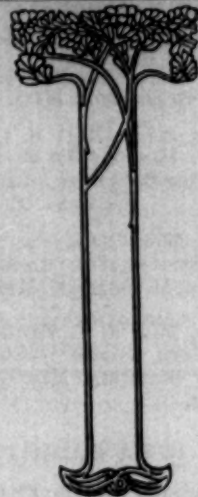
LESSONS IN THE RECENT  
ELECTIONS

IDA TARBELL'S AND  
HAROLD OWEN'S BOOKS

LAWS OF SUFFRAGE AND  
NON-SUFFRAGE STATES.

REASONS WHY WOMEN  
OPPOSE SUFFRAGE

DECEMBER  
1912



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## IF WOMEN HAVE "RIGHT" TO VOTE THEY MUST BEAR THE BURDEN

[Address by Mrs. A. J. George before the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, Albany,  
November 14, 1912.]

There is one thing upon which we all are agreed—the right of woman to that individual development which shall make possible her distinctive contribution to the State. There is honest difference of opinion as to how this contribution shall be made. There is no monopoly on either side of spiritual vision or of devoted service, to ideals of the vote, can the State be moralized and reformed—and there are others who believe that woman's vote would be a waste of power because a duplication of effort; and that there would be no compensating gain to woman or the State for this economic loss. These hold the conviction that true progress can lie only in guiding nature in the direction in which she is moving, and not in trying to head her off, who believe that the so-called "reform" is really a retrogressive movement; in their behalf I undertake the unwelcome task of opposing those who earnestly and zealously desire to see the women of New York State assume the responsibilities of political life.

While we pay tribute to the sincerity and zeal of many noble women in suffrage ranks, we ask those who differ from us to recognize the rules of fair play and the right of protest which is as well established as the right of petition. What has thus far been done or left undone in other states or countries where women have the ballot signifies nothing, for nowhere has the principle been in operation long enough to have been put to the test. The test of such a "revolutionary change" as Mr. Gladstone termed woman suffrage, requires to try it out a great national crisis in which passion and prejudice are at white heat and the very life of the nation is at stake.

There is reason that we should consider the situation in England. Does the deliberate destruction of property and the creation of public disorder promise that women are to show a more excellent way of government? Those who read history aright know that reforms have not been brought about in that country by the use of force.

Because of recent suffrage gains I am aware that this sort of talk is unpopular, but we have lived through other movements—greenbackism, populism, free-silverism—and the time may prove that suffragism is no more sound than these other panaceas which failed when put to the test. As yet there is only the initial enthusiasm of a popular movement. It is a law of the moral world that the greater the fervor of such a movement when it is not founded in elemental truths, the greater is the reaction and the more disastrous the consequent liability and relapse. There are movements greater than the so-called "world-wide movements" and "general awakenings," and these are the great ocean currents which flow responsive to the fundamental verities, and which sweep away all our endeavors, however sincere they may be, if they are not founded on basic principles. The country could doubtless withstand the drainage of woman's civic life into political activities; in a short time—as history moves—the waste of such a policy would be manifest and woman would again seek her natural channels of expression. I am not afraid of the masculine woman, but I have grave fears for the woman who confuses the work of man and woman and attempts to do both.

How shall woman best contribute her part to the social order? It is not a question of aim in which suffragists and anti-suffragists differ. Both parties desire woman's opportunity for her highest social efficiency in order that she may serve the State fully and nobly.

The problem is to be solved, not by consulting the wishes of any one group of women, but by earnest consideration of the duties of government upon all women. If the law gives to women the right to vote, then all women have the responsibility of voting. This burden, if it is put upon any women, must be put upon all women. Never before has it been proposed to extend the franchise to a new electorate, the majority of whom are either indifferent or opposed to it.

It is not a question of what women want—even a majority of women; it is a question whether it is expedient for the State to put the balance of political power into the hands of women. Does this policy promise a better order for the State? We must not take any single group of women and compare them with a less informed group of men. We must compare like with like. Have those who advocate woman suffrage the proof that the average woman will make a better voter than the average man? Do you believe that the average woman has surer means of information in regard to matters of State and National politics than has the average man? Unless you have this proof you must hesitate, as patriotic women, before you double the present difficulties of our democracy.

I am aware that the suffragists contend that anti-suffragists do not believe in democracy. We do believe in democracy, but our definition of that term would vary from that given by those who seek to make each citizen offer an identical contribution to the State. Civilization goes forward by two roads—one of these is provided by the State, and deals with the conditions which surround the citizen; the other is opened by education—and here is woman's distinctive sphere—in the upbuilding of character. She trains and educates not only her own children, but also the whole body politic. She builds the individual character by which society is reformed, for society at best reflects the character of those who compose it. It is not by the establishment nor by the suppression of institutions that social change is wrought (you may suppress the saloon, but unless public conscience is aroused, the liquor traffic is unchecked); it is by reform within the individual that the Kingdom of God is advanced, and to-day we have lost our clearer vision of this truth, and, forgetting the power of character, invoke the power of the law.

Man's work is concerned with affairs which are akin to government, with commerce, with finance, with defence—a realm which lies outside the experience of most women. Woman is vitally concerned with matters in the home or akin to the home. To imply that we need her vote in order to help our larger housekeeping, bespeaks a misapprehension of what constitutes municipal housekeeping. As in the home the mother stands for ideals, so in the State woman stands for the creation of a public opinion which the voter embodies in law.

It is no answer to say that the men have failed. If they  
(Continued on Page 5, Column 2.)



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Published Monthly by

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage  
29 West 39th Street, New York City

President, MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE - - - - - New York  
Secretary, MRS. MORGAN G. BULKELEY - - - Hartford, Conn.  
Treasurer, MRS. ROBERT GARRETT - Roland Park, Baltimore

VOL. II. DECEMBER, 1912, No. 2

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers

## THE RECENT ELECTIONS

THE recent victories for suffrage in three—not four—States, as first reported have been a disappointment, but not a discouragement to those working in the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. To offset these somewhat, we can record two victories on our side:—Ohio in September, which gave a majority of 89,000, and Wisconsin, at the last election, with over 92,000 against woman suffrage.

As usual where suffrage has been defeated the Suffragists have accused the liquor interests of having a large share in the defeat. In some cases they have even mentioned the amount expended, but have never given any proof of their assertions. The truth was that in these two states the large majority of women were opposed to these radical changes in their political status, and the men voiced not only their own sentiments, but those of the women.

In Oregon, where the majority for suffrage was 3,277, undoubtedly the result was, to a great degree, due to the fact that Washington, on the north, and California, on the south, had enfranchised their women and the moral effect of that situation was very strong. The success of suffrage in both these latter states was largely the result of Socialist influence, and did not represent the wish of the great majority of women, as has been conceded by the Suffragists. The success in Oregon was undoubtedly due in part to this same influence, as the Socialists did everything in their power to effect this.

Socialist leaders have always said that when women voted their party would be strengthened all over the country.

In Kansas, a state celebrated for trying new experiments, and where there was no organized opposition, the majority for suffrage was 16,000, not 50,000, as at first claimed. The situation in Arizona is complicated at present. The alleged majority claimed for suffrage was about 3,000. The attorneys of the Southern Pacific Railway Company contend that the law requiring the full text of referendum measures to be sent to voters ninety days before election was not complied with, only fifty-three days having elapsed from the first mailing until the vote was polled. Their interest was centered in the legality of the three-cent law, but should this measure be found illegal those for equal suffrage, recall of judges and state industrial ventures will also be threatened. It may be necessary to have these measures again submitted to the people.

At the present writing it is reported that suffrage has been lost in Michigan, the majority quoted being from 39-'00. The latter figure is probably more nearly correct. The Suffragists charge fraud, and it will be some time before the result is officially determined, as returns from some counties contain mistakes and have been sent back for corrections.

Whether it is three or four states that have given women the franchise, the need of organization by women has been emphasized. However much women may dread the publicity and hard work entailed, it is absolutely necessary that they put themselves on record, if opposed to suffrage. It is the only way that the voters of the state can judge the extent to which women are opposed to having an unwelcome duty thrust upon them.

## WOMEN—WAR

ONE of the sure results of the growing influence of women in affairs of state will be the decline of war as a means of settling disputes.

Olive Schreiner has illustrated this tendency by supposing a city besieged by a merciless enemy. The battered walls have to be repaired. The nearest thing at hand is a group of statues in a temple, and the soldiers wish to use these. But the sculptor who carved those statues, and who is also a soldier, objects. They are his work, and while in the end he will sacrifice them for his city, he will do so only in the last extremity.

"Men's bodies are our work," declares Olive Schreiner, speaking for her sex. There could not be a truer or a sounder statement of the way in which women tend to work for peace.—Chicago Journal.

It is somewhat of a slander on woman, as well as contrary to history, to say that women would ask of men to think of their "bodies" before thinking of their honor or political freedom or the safety of their wives and children. If the woman can fight for political freedom, men can scarcely be expected to forego that privilege. War is always a choice of two evils and frequently the least. Wars of defence appeal greatly to women and brave women, like brave men, will make sacrifices when the occasion demands. Brave women inspire and strengthen men to deeper love of country and of home. One can scarcely imagine the wife of Horatius begging him to give up the bridge, and save his precious body, any more than one can imagine Caesar's wife compromising his honor in order to keep the peace.

A young man who was lately requested to serve on a posse of citizens at the time of a strike, replied that he would not because if he were to lose an eye or an ear, it would be forgotten in ten years how he lost it, but he would be minus an important organ.

These fin-de-siècle ideas are not brought forth from the brains of heroes, nor the mothers of heroes. Men's "bodies" may be "our work" but what of their souls? Have we no share nor responsibility in them?

THE Suffragists say that we disown the improvements made through suffrage agitation. Not at all. Some very good results were brought about by the earlier suffrage agitation. We may say "indirectly." Agitation for a specific good is a well-recognized and most efficacious means of obtaining it. What Anti-Suffragists claim is that the movement is no longer asking for a specific good. We think that it has degenerated. We believe most thoroughly that the inspirations of women should be weighed and fully debated by men before they become law. We do not believe good laws can be evolved otherwise. We do not think the ballot in the hands of woman would produce this result and any one who observes the demands now made by Suffragists can scarcely doubt that the movement has lost its sanity as it has lost its restraint. What we are trying to do is to hold on to the great privileges of American women, which are in danger of reversal through the wild personal ambition of a few. Wherever women are asking for real advantage in a constitutional spirit of regard for the national and home interests as well, Anti-Suffragists are with them. Many Antis are reformed Suffragists.



## CATCHING THEM YOUNG.

A FEW years ago the newspapers showed us the poetry of the youngest life member of the National Suffrage Association, a child just three months, still in long dresses. A year ago, a newspaper informed us of the appearance of the youngest suffragette, a youngster whose seven summers had given her such wisdom in government affairs that she was addressing a Legislature in behalf of "Votes for Women."

Now comes the news from Middleboro, Mass., that in the seventh grade of the Grammar School there are thirty girls organized to promote the cause of Woman Suffrage. Fortunately for the peace of mind of the citizens of Middleboro, these doughty champions promise that they will not break windows, but they do hold fast to the hope that "they will interest the men in the movement." The boys have not been let in as yet, but they "will come in handy in passing out literature."

America has been treated to political advice from women across the sea, fresh from college, who with no knowledge of the conditions which obtain in our politics, sought to advise us in regard to this "revolutionary change," as Mr. Gladstone pronounced Woman Suffrage.

Now it seems, we are to have aid from nearer home and we await with interest the organization of the kindergartens, for it would seem that this germ of hysteria and emotionalism attacks youth as well as those of middle age.

## QUESTIONS FOR SUFFRAGISTS TO ANSWER.

LET us assume that "Suffrage is coming" and that nothing can stay it, and then ask some well-informed Suffragist to answer the following questions. An official answer from the Woman's Political Union would be greatly appreciated by those seeking accurate information.

1. What substitute is to be guaranteed by Suffragists in place of the legal privileges renounced by women when they become men's political equals?
2. Will negro women vote in those States where legally or illegally the negro man has been deprived of the franchise?
3. Will the wives of officers and soldiers vote while their husbands are practically disfranchised? Or will the wife's residence still follow her husband's?
4. Will the women of the District of Columbia vote if the men do not in case of an Amendment to the Federal Constitution striking out the word male?
5. In case a question arises which fundamentally divides women and men, and women cast the most votes, who will enforce their will in case men refuse to? And in case men oppose its enforcement, will women carry it out in spite of them? How?
6. If a woman's duty to the State clashes with that of her husband's business interests and through them with the interests of her children, which ought she to choose? Would she be likely to cast her vote for an incorruptible mayor who would undoubtedly close her husband's business? Should the choice be forced upon her?
7. How many women would solve the above question by staying away from the polls? How many actually do in Suffrage States?
8. If war is declared and women give military service in the same proportion as men, will they carry the papooses on their backs or leave them behind? In this case will not the next generation suffer?

(Continued from Page 3.)

are doing so poorly, what shall we say of the women who have trained them? We have made the men what they are. Our need to-day is not more voters, but better voters, and if the men have failed—and I do not believe they have failed, when we consider the slow progress of the race in attaining its ideals—but if they have failed, it is because we women have neglected our part of training them to ideals of righteousness which shall be translated at the polls into votes for candidates who stand for that which is true and clean in public life.

As reasonable women we do not need to deal with the absurd contention that anti-suffragists class themselves with criminals, and idiots, and insane. Nor shall I consider the old argument which stood for "Woman's Rights," so called, on the assumption that the suffrage was a natural right. Leading suffragists long ago abandoned that claim, and have taken up with new and alluring arguments which seem to them an expression of the spirit of the times. Anti-suffragists are the first to affirm that woman's citizenship is as real as man's, that her contribution to the State is as worthy as man's.

The logic of theory is on the side of those who ask for this change; the logic of fact is with those who protest against it.

The history of the woman suffrage movement shows that the ballot is not necessary to secure woman's legal and civil rights. Consider the laws affecting women in our State, all of which have been secured without woman's vote. When that first Suffrage Convention was held in Seneca Falls in 1848, and the long list of grievances was cited, under which it was said that women suffered, it was decreed that only the ballot could remove those grievances. In these more than sixty years, legislation has kept pace with public opinion, a public opinion not created by suffrage contentions, and in which the votes of women have played no part. Time fails to speak of the history of this legislation, which is not founded on equal rights, but which recognizes the legal rights and exemptions of woman because she is the mother of the race.

What would be the blessed effect, do you think, if all this agitation for the ballot were to cease for ten years, and the energy and the time and the money which is expended thereon were to be diverted into constructive work along those lines where women must work three hundred and sixty-four days in the year, even if they are to vote the remaining day, and where we believe that the vote would complicate woman's work in those 364 days?

You have your splendid Federation of Women's Clubs, and you stand to-day, an undivided body of women, to create a scientific and trained public opinion. If you are to use men's clumsy methods, you will be a part of the political machine, and you will be divided into Democrats, and Republicans, and Socialists, and Prohibitionists, precisely as men are, and as you are to-day threatened with division by the politics of suffrage. It is the greatest power and the pressing danger of our woman's temperament that we cannot have differences of opinion and treat them impersonally, as men do. You know, and I know, that in too many instances to-day necessary work, right at our hand, is hampered and hindered because we are estranged by this talk and noise of the suffrage movement. Do you believe that a pledge which a powerful suffrage organization sought to exact from its members that they would give neither money or services to any other cause until the women of New York State had been enfranchised, is a hopeful sign that enfranchised woman will place the public good above party politics? While women parade and take part in soapbox oratory, what is the work at their hand which no vote can solve?



There is the problem of the working woman—seven millions of them, we are told, according to the census of 1910. Are her troubles to be solved by more politics or are they social and economic? Of these seven millions of women, forty per cent. are domestic servants in our own homes. If we women have so signally failed to solve the problems of two-fifths of all the wage earning women in our country, with whom we come in daily and hourly contact, who make or mar our domestic order, can we hope that by the votes of women better conditions will be obtained either for or by the women who toil in our homes and the women who toil in our factories? The terrible thing about the wage-earning woman is that she is so young, that she is so overworked, and that she is so underpaid. Probably the percentages of the census of 1900 will hold good with the larger figures of the census of 1910, when one-third of the wage-earning women were under voting age and one-half were under twenty-five years; the average duration of the working woman was from the age of eighteen to twenty-two years, when she left industry to go into "the business of being a woman," as Miss Tarbell has aptly termed it.

Three factors determines wages: the market supply and demand, the degree of skill which is offered, and the organization of the workers into bodies where they can make collective bargaining. Under the census of 1900, only one woman in six of voting age was gainfully employed. If the five who are not wage-earners are so careless and indifferent to the lot of the woman who toils, can we hope that votes are going to help out these problems of the woman in industry? A problem beside which questions of tariff and finance sink into insignificance and to which every right-minded woman must bring the best her heart and mind can offer.

When you attend a conference on Juvenile Crime, or Infant Mortality or Divorce, what is the keynote sounded every time? Not "Votes for Women," but the need of the preservation of the home. While suffragists are talking about the passing of the home and the dawn of an era when baby gardens shall precede kindergartens, and the State shall take care of the child, experts affirm that what the child needs even more than sanitary conditions is mothering, and that the morals and the health of the child are safer in a poor home than in a good institution. The Widow's Pension Bill and kindred legislation recognize this fact which has been scientifically demonstrated.

As to Child Labor. In all the States there are now Child Labor committees. These committees have done more to better the condition of child labor than all other influences combined, and the women members have influenced legislation as much as the men, and the fact that the latter had a vote has not increased their effectiveness. In this State, more has been accomplished by the New York State Child Labor Commission, than the votes of all the women of the State could have accomplished in the same time. The Child Labor laws of States in the Union where women have not voted are in advance of those where women do vote, and there is abundant proof from the suffrage authority to uphold this statement; the same may be said of all the body of remedial and protective legislation for the working woman. This is not because, as some suffragists urge, there is no need of this legislation in the woman suffrage States. There is need of it, even though the workers may be few, and the comparison of laws in Colorado, Utah, Idaho and Wyoming, where women have had the vote, with those of the adjoining States of Nebraska, Oregon, Oklahoma, and the Dakotas, shows an advantage on the side of the latter group of States where male suffrage has prevailed. The high water mark of legislation for the working woman was reached in Massachusetts,

with her Maternity law, which forbids the employment of women for a certain period before and after childbirth (New York in 1912 passed a similar law), and with her Minimum Wage Commission, which is concerned with the living wage of women, and her absolute prohibition of woman's work after 10 P. M. Even as far back as 1877 women were elected by popular vote in the State of Massachusetts as overseers of the poor.

The value of the work of women on appointed commissions dealing with the dependent and defective has increasing recognition in many States. To these positions women bring service untainted by political ambitions.

Suffragists claim that woman suffrage is necessary to abolish the hideous white slave traffic. The Federal Law, known as the Mann Act, is being rapidly applied. Other laws must and will follow, as the knowledge of the extent of the evil awakens the public conscience, and the moral sense of the people is aroused. This educational work can best be carried on by a non-political body and lies particularly in woman's hands.

Some women ask for votes in order to abolish the ancient social evil. We talk sex hygiene and moral prophylaxis, and they have their large place in the education of a right living people. While on the one side the public is having educated to consider, sometimes too hastily, sex hygiene and its allied subjects, women in every community are doing much to offset this education. The arguments advanced by the suffragists that they must wait for the franchise to combat the social evil or to eliminate the white slave traffic is wrong. If the whole moral influence of this Federation of Women's Clubs should stand against immodesty in dress and indecent dancing, a large factor in the downfall of the girl of the streets and the corruption of the so-called "sheltered" girl would be eliminated. Cherry Hill borrows from Murray Hill, and when First Avenue followed Fifth Avenue with its decadent dances the East Side dances presently became shockingly improper. Do we need the vote to begin now to test the standards which these girls shall follow? They borrow from our daughters, and our daughters learn from us.

A woman before the Massachusetts Legislature plead for the ballot in order that the shocking billboard displays might not offend the eyes of youth. She lacked nothing in zeal, but her knowledge of fact was lacking, for it is an established fact that eighty-five per cent. of the patrons of the theatre are women. Obviously the most direct and simple way to raise the standard of the stage is to make the box office receipts voice our protest against the violation of decency, of modesty and the corruption of youth.

The regulation of the food supply is of vital interest to women. Pure Food laws are essential. Their enforcement is of paramount importance, but let us recall the question of Mrs. Ellen Richards, the nation's expert on Domestic Science, who, when this subject was under discussion before the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and the appeal was made to urge the passage of Pure Food laws, quietly asked, "Ladies, how many of you realize that seventy-five per cent. of the food contamination takes place in your own kitchens?"

We have laws enough to sink the Ship of State. What we need is an enforcement of existing laws and such new legislation as formulates public opinion which stands ready to make those laws operative. Why are we known as the most lawless people on the face of the earth? Because too often feel that when a law is passed, the whole fight is won, when in reality the campaign is only begun.

The only consistent suffragist to-day is the woman who has the courage to follow her theories to their ultimate conclusion, and who stands for the so-called economic independence of woman, even to the co-responsibility of the wife for the maintenance of her children, if she has any.



This is the socialistic view. It must be the view of every suffragist who has the intellectual honesty and perception of the feminist. Although an officer of the National Suffrage Association has recently pronounced that "most informed and progressive people are agreed that married women should be economically independent," and assuming this, has urged that the father and mother should have five-hour shifts at work and in the care of the children in the home, public opinion has not kept pace with this interesting device to put marriage on a business basis.

If you honestly believe in doubling the present electorate, by adding to the problem of our democracy an untried electorate, the majority of which is indifferent or opposed to the exercise of the franchise, if you believe that the ballot is woman's best means to social efficiency, then you are a suffragist. If you recognize that manhood suffrage is on trial, that our machinery of government is under greatest strain in the congested areas of population, that nowhere on the face of the earth has Woman's Suffrage yet been tried under conditions which would obtain here in the Empire State, you will hesitate before you support the suffrage claim and you will question whether woman's service to the State should be identical with man's. What that service is, I have tried to indicate. It has not the glamor of a new programme, it has not even a war cry, which Voltaire said people dearly loved; but it involves a careful consideration of present duties and obligations, to which the ballot, the political activities, the share in the administration of government, the scramble for office, offer no solution.

Shall we learn nothing from history? No nation has ever prospered that has put its women into the firing line. No nation has ever endured which has put the burden of government upon its women. That great English woman, who made the largest contribution of the nineteenth century toward solving the problem of the housing of the poor, Octavia Hill, has said: "Political power would militate against woman's usefulness in the large field of public work in which so many are now doing noble and helpful service. This service is far more valuable than any voting power could possibly be. \* \* \* Let the woman be set on finding her duties, not on her rights—there is enough of struggle for place and power, enough of watching what is popular and will win votes, enough of effort to secure majorities; if women would temper this wild struggle, let her seek to do her own work steadily and earnestly."

The anti-suffragist recognizes woman's distinctive value to the State, and believes that it is by an intensifying of her old methods of work and of her present obligations and duties, that she is to make her best contribution to the body politic, not by an extension of her energy, already overtaxed, into fields of politics and government, for which she is unfitted. There is no limitation to woman's opportunity to-day, save the limitations imposed by her physical and nervous constitution, and there we have a stone wall—not of prejudice, as some would make us think, but of Nature's own building. Suffrage is a backward step towards conditions where the work of men and women was the same, because neither sex had evolved enough to see the wisdom of being specialists in their own line.

The work of your Women's Clubs is the best answer to the claims of the suffragist. You may not have found immediate response to your protest against existing evils, but because you were not in the political trade, that protest has had a more careful consideration and a more prompt recognition, than if you had been split up into party lines and had been limited by man's methods. The General Federation of Women's Clubs has spread more valuable legislation on the statute books in the last ten years than all the votes of men and women combined.

The work before us is hard work—nine-tenths of drudg-

ery for one-tenth of possible success. The need of our country to-day is that its women shall lay aside self-assertion and the desire for prestige, and shall render disinterested service to the State. That need the women of New York State will recognize.

## "The Business of Being a Woman," Ida M. Tarbell's New Book

New York: Macmillan Co.

It is especially true in the present age that the person who speaks or writes with convincing force to-day must be one who is "part and parcel" of the life which he seeks to describe or to discuss. The writer must make his readers feel the vital interest which he has in his subject, gained by practical knowledge rather than by class-room theories. The name of Miss Tarbell assures us of keen insight, direct effective statements and balanced judgment, whatever may be her theme. She is a painstaking student of history, in its broadest meaning, and uses this knowledge as a firm background, whether her subject be Lincoln or Napoleon, The Tariff or the History of the Standard Oil Company.

With characteristic insight and logic she has written "The Business of Being a Woman," possibly as a supplement to "The Book of Woman's Power," published last year. Few women equal Miss Tarbell in grasp of business and political questions. She knows well American men and women; she is an authority on many forms of American politics and business. She appreciates the honest work and achievements of the modern woman, she sympathizes, without sentimentality, in her problems, and she deals frankly and always kindly with her defects and distorted vision. The object of this book, she says, "is to call attention to a certain distrust which the author feels in the modern woman, of the significance and dignity of the work laid upon her by nature and society."

There is no open discussion of the question of suffrage—the issue is seldom spoken—and yet this little book is a forceful rejoinder to the trite arguments of the suffragettes. It is a broad, strong presentation of the economic as well as the social opportunities for American women who are seeking to give true civic service, not by casting a ballot but by exercising, to the fullest extent, the prerogatives of educated womanhood.

Sidney Lanier used a pretty poetic expression for "that round of littles which large life compound," yet it is difficult to perform with enthusiasm the many trivial tasks of the woman's day, to endure philosophically the scores of interruptions, "to preserve faith and zest for everyday activities," as Miss Tarbell has said. Moreover, with increased freedom for women in the scope and activities of her life has come to her greater unrest, more ferment of mind and a tragic revolt against what she construes as the unjust exactions of nature and society. This unrest and revolt can be traced "from Eve to Mrs. Pankhurst."

In spite of this widespread restlessness Miss Tarbell is convinced that the majority of women revere and accept their supreme task and privilege: "To bear and to rear, to feel the dependence of man and child—the necessity for themselves—to know that upon them depend the health, the character, the happiness, the future of certain human beings—to see themselves laying and preserving the foundations of so imposing a thing as a family—to build so that this family shall become a strong stone in the State—to feel themselves through this family perpetuating and perfecting church, society, republic—this is their destiny; this is worth while."



With impressiveness Miss Tarbell contends that the "militant" woman—who feels that to imitate man's life is the panacea for her limitations—is the result, rather than the originator, of the great development of educational opportunities. "The new order of things instituted by the Revolution made imperative for women the schooling, the liberty of action, the independent pocket book." Many women have mistaken the tools for the work; they have overemphasized the tools of freedom and education, so generously bestowed on the modern woman, and have forgotten that these are tools for accomplishing the greatest service she can render to her home and the community.

Acknowledging that there have been many successful women in "careers" similar to those of men, Miss Tarbell says there have been almost no great women in these professions. Although the explanation must involve other questions, the author finds one reason in the necessity for the business or professional woman to "suppress her natural emotions and meet the world with a surface as non-resilient as she conceives that of man to be in his dealings with the world." This is an unnatural armor which she must put on—a repression of her natural "affectability"—and she seems, in consequence, often cold and sometimes repellant. Not infrequently nature breaks in upon her independence, crushes through her armor and "sets her heart aflame."

Starting with the question—"What is the Business of Being a Woman?" Is it something incompatible with free and joyous development of one's talents? Has it no essential relation to the world's movements?" Miss Tarbell surveys briefly and succinctly what women have done in civic and social service. She shows both sides of the picture, however, and recounts many instances where women have neglected to use their economic privileges in behalf of pure foods, school sanitation and protection of the friendless child. She opens out a large vision of possibilities of service which entail no need of ballot, and thus pertinently answers the argument that a woman of fifty, with family grown and educated, has "nothing to do" unless she interests herself actively in politics.

The college girl may well consider some of the helpful and wise suggestions in the chapter on "The Socialization of the Home." The real service of a woman's higher education is to "fit her intellectually to be a companion worthy of a child." Home may well be described as a great social laboratory "where all the problems are of primary, not secondary, importance, since they all deal directly with human life."

ANNIE RUSSELL MARBLE.

## "Woman Adrift—The Menace of Suffragism."

By Harold Owen. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

Not since Horace Bushnell wrote "Woman Suffrage the Reform Against Nature" has there been so valuable a contribution as this book by Mr. Owen to the cause of those who see in the extension of suffrage to women the menace of feminism. Although written to meet English conditions, the argument is so fundamental that it must appeal to all who would carefully consider the probable results if woman is to assume the burden of government—"the revolution," Mr. Owen calls it.

With honesty of argument and no words in dispraise of women, Mr. Owen pursues the suffragist of the "old guard" into the byways where she would take refuge, and insists on her following her contentions to their logical issue. He concludes that the only difference between the suffragist and the feminist is that the suffragist is the feminist minus her intellectual honesty and perception."

Mr. Owen demands that a me attempt should be made to find out the opinion of women before the vote is imposed on them, since this is the first time on record when it has been proposed to give the vote to a section of the population "many (possibly most) of whom are actively and acutely hostile to the reception of it."

Mr. Owen covers the whole ground of argument, biological, political and social, and while he indicates a lofty ideal of woman he draws up the most formidable indictment of suffragism with its inevitable drift to feminism which has yet been made.—Boston Herald, Nov. 9.

## Laws of Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States are Compared

Comparison Proves Woman's Vote Brings No Legal Benefit to the Sex.

Comparisons are being frequently made between the laws now in force for the protection and benefit of women and children in suffrage and non-suffrage States. Claims are advanced by the Suffragists that they need the ballot to secure beneficent legislation for their sex. They insist that the States where women are denied the ballot are backward in enacting laws favorable to them. Miss Ada James, president of the Political Equality League of Wisconsin, in challenging an editorial statement in the Milwaukee Free Press, sent to that paper a list of laws favorable to women in Colorado, evidently selecting that State because it presented the most favorable group of laws of any of the suffrage States. The Free Press replied to Miss James by contrasting her own list with the laws of like character already in operation in Wisconsin, printing both lists in the "deadly parallel."

The Protest has from time to time compared the laws of Colorado with those of non-suffrage States. We offer now a comparison of the Colorado laws with those of Connecticut:

### COLORADO.

1. Forbidding the insuring of lives of children under ten years of age.
2. Establishing a Home for dependent children; two of the five members of the Board of Control to be women.
3. Requiring three of the six members of the county visitors to be women.

### CONNECTICUT.

1. No limitations.
2. Homes for dependent children established in every county. Managed by a Board composed of the County Commissioners, a member of the State Board of Charities, who may or may not be a woman.
3. The Manager of the County Homes shall appoint either a man or woman in each town in the county, whose duty shall be to visit and inspect said County Houses.



- |  |   |                                |  |
|--|---|--------------------------------|--|
| 4. Making mothers joint guardians with their fathers.  | 4. Father and mother joint guardians.   |                                | joint support of themselves and their family when the husband is unable to meet such debts. It is the duty of the husband, when able, to support the family.   |
| 5. Raising the age of protection for girls to 18 years.  | 5. Age of consent 16 years. Formerly the age of consent was 14.   |                                |  |
| 6. Requiring one woman physician on the Board of Insane Asylums.   | 6. Visitation by State Board of Charities. The State Board of Charities must be composed of three men and two women.                            | 24. No mention.                | 24. Insurance money for the benefit of wife exempt from husband's debts, unless the premium has been over \$300 per year, in which case the insurance represented by the parties of the premium in excess of \$300 per year goes to the creditors.   |
| 7. Establishing Parental Schools.  | 7. No provision.  |                                |  |
| 8. Making Humane Society State Bureau for child and animal protection.   | 8. Making Humane Society protectors for abused children and animals.  | 25. No mention.                | 25. Saloon keepers selling liquors to either husband or wife after notice not to do so, is liable to both fine and imprisonment.   |
| 9. Establishing Juvenile Courts.   | 9. No Juvenile Courts.  |                                |  |
| 10. Compulsory education with certain questionable exemptions.   | 10. Compulsory education with exemptions.   | 26. No mention.                | 26. Wife may be executrix or administratrix of her husband's debts.  |
| 11. No mention.  | 11. In some schools industrial education is established.  | 27. No mention.                | 27. The estate, through its administrator or executor, of any person, man or woman, whose death has been caused by negligence, has a right of action against the party legally in fault, for just damages.   |
| 12. Fathers and mothers joint heirs of child.  | 12. Fathers and mothers joint heirs of children's property if child leaves no will and is unmarried. A child under 18 years cannot make a will. |                                |  |
| 13. Establishing traveling libraries.  | 13. State provisions for school libraries.  | 28. No mention.                | 28. Wife has absolute control of her separate property if married, since April 20, 1877.   |
| 14. Employing children under 14 in smelter, etc., punishable by imprisonment.  | 14. Employment of children under 14 in factories or stores is prohibited.   | 29. No mention.                | 29. The factory inspector may be either a man or a woman.  |
| 15. Requiring joint signature of husband and wife to every chattel mortgage, sale by homestead, etc.   | 15. No such provision. Husband or wife can do as they choose with the property.   | 30. No mention.                | 30. Either a man or a woman may be placed in charge of an employment bureau.   |
| 16. Making it a criminal offense to contribute to the delinquency of a child. No proof of age required other than the affidavit of parent or guardian. | 16. Parents liable for certain delinquencies of children.   | 31. No mention.                | 31. Industrial School for girls. At present under the direction and management of F. C. Luther, President of Trinity College, the Governor of the State and several others, with a woman assistant.  |
| 17. Making it a misdemeanor to fail to support aged or infirm parents.   | 17. Children who are able to support their dependent parents are legally liable for their support.  |                                |  |
| 18. Abolishing the system of binding out girls committed to Industrial Schools.  | 18. Girls committed to Industrial Schools may be bound out in good homes.   | 32. No mention.                | 32. The Trustees of the Reformatory for Boys are appointed by the State Senate.  |
| 19. No mention.  | 19. No restriction in regard to regulating street trades for children.  | 33. No mention.                | 33. Feeble-minded persons may be sent to different institutions in the State, some of which are managed mostly by women.   |
| 20. No mention.  | 20. No provision for the Board of University Regents.   |                                |  |
| 21. No mention.  | 21. University Regents managed by State Board of Education.   | 34. Women have equal suffrage. | 34. Women may vote for school officers and may fill such offices, can be attorneys-at-law, commissioners, etc. The disposition of minor children of divorced parties is in the discretion of the courts. The custody of such children may be given to either parent, but seldom to the guilty parent. If the court finds both parents incompetent for the custody of the children, it can give their custody to a third party. |
| 22. No mention.  | 22. No provision for a woman member of the Board of Industrial Education.   |                                |  |
| 23. No mention.  | 23. Wife's wages or income liable for debts by her contract, also for such debts contracted by either herself or her husband, as go to the      |                                |  |



## Pertinent Reasons Why Women Oppose Suffrage

Numerous indeed are the reasons held out both here and abroad in opposing the further extension of the franchise to women, and a space of two thousand words hardly seems adequate to cover for even one woman who feels the vitality of getting down off the fence in order to place herself rightly on a question as essentially requiring an accurate gathering of "yeas" and "nays."

I firmly oppose female suffrage because I earnestly feel it will tend to multiply the unsolved economic problem of the day.

In the beginning let me remark that the anti, as the upholder of the negative side on this question is the direct product of the suffragist, and as such I shall frequently have to put forward an affirmative argument in order to place my own.

The suffragists argue that evolution causing great changes in industrial conditions has had the power of diminishing home work, and in view of this suggests politics as a filler. But, on the contrary to evolution and the changes brought about by it, I attribute a multiplication of home duties rather than a subtraction.

Let us though, for an excuse to produce another phase of the question, suppose the former argument to be correct. Very well, then what of the questions to-day that point as their excuse for existence to the over-full time of the woman of yesterday?

Are we not faced to-day by the question of introducing sex hygiene into schools, and in more advanced grades, eugenics?

If it is true that the woman of yesterday had too many home duties to allow her to come close enough to her own child to impart life's lessons, then in her underfilled time to-day she has an opportunity to cope with the situation, and the duty of the mother need not pass from the home department into the school, but remain under her holler and more humanely legitimate jurisdiction.

What is our amazement, though, to find she cannot do this? She never seems to have knitted her home duties together, and so ethically encircled them that such duties would not graduate into problems. So it is that in many cases things that should be learned at home are forced, by a sluggish tendency in the home, into the legitimate regime of school work, overcrowding that department and ultimately developing other problems.

The mother of to-day, I am more and more convinced, merely produces the child, and the State and its upkept institutions do the rest.

"We are deprived of the ballot," is another common error made by the opponent.

Woman is not deprived of the ballot, but exempt as are other classes in view of their service towards the State, and in consideration of the superb service rendered the State by woman, I must here touch on the necessity of preserving her strength and health, and not encumbering her with more responsibilities. If an agitating few who deem this unworthy of protection simply because they have become victims of the hysteria of the age and want to glory in what they satisfy themselves by terming emancipation, then it is up to the thinking women of the country who know woman's worth as woman to travel in opposition to this avalanche of new ideas that has broken away from the stable and stolid, and bring about its desolation. It is up to women, I say again, who know the destruction that lies in the path of so unnecessary a change, to fight, and fight hard against an issue the obligation of which, if

honestly shouldered, would not only send them to the ballot box ever so often, as the suffragist would have us believe, but place women on jury boxes, on posse, and sheriff duty, etc.

To this the suffragist retorts—"We won't have to do these things." That is all the more to be deplored and I feel that to give the suffrage to women, and then place them exempt from its responsibilities is to me a direct demeaning of a present normal technicality of government.

That the government demands more of the voter than is given in return for the privilege of voting is what makes the thinking woman stop and consider, and I feel that no high-minded woman wants a privilege that obligation of which she cannot physically, and in some cases, mentally, defray.

California in extending the franchise to women, placed them exempt from most of the obligations including the poll tax. Instead of this being a source of rejoicing as it was in the suffrage ranks, I would, if a suffragist, feel that my cry for Equal Rights had not been rightly heard. Undoubtedly in her demand for Equal Rights a woman robs her heretofore divine service towards the State and humanity of its former constructive strength and from such belittling of her function in life emanates a gnawing antagonism towards her mate, and a discontent which produces a lack of unity from which home duties steal away and are cared for by the State. From such situations Reno undoubtedly has grown to be known as Reno, and produced from such a state of affairs is a type of woman that finds plenty of time on her hands because she closes her eyes to the enormous realities before her and pretends not to feel the touch of a little child, who, groping its way through this restless age, wants, needs, and should have every minute of her time.

"Women will purify politics." Purification such as women have in their power can as well reach the ballot box as the mothers of the voters, and some inquiring one may ask why more has not reached it up to date.

As it stands, why should she sully that influence, call it indirect or what you will, by direct possession of the ballot by which she places herself ready for use?

A vivid example of this exists in the introduction of the female suffrage planks in the Bull Moose platform. Roosevelt spoke against suffrage when here in the East last spring, but just as soon as he felt he might require extra support in his establishing of a new party, he caught at any political straw afloat, and we have a plain example of number, not quality, C'est tout!

In Vermont he gave out a report that his change was due to such examples as Jane Addams, naming others, too. This I consider a weak reason, as Jane Addams could proclaim her suffrage principles from the top of the highest building I know, and I would simply say: "How much even that fine type of woman is in ignorance of the constructive value of herself and position in the body politic towards her own work." It matters little how often such women lend themselves to the suffrage cause the advancement in their work as non-partisans proves them to be examples of what can be done by women unhandicapped by the ballot. I claim that such women, in asking for the ballot, are working directly against their own strength. Take, for example, the standard of social betterment work in England as compared with this country. There the lack of attaining as high a standard is undoubtedly due to the political affiliation already accorded the English women in her possession of municipal suffrage and stands as an object lesson to her American cousin. The American woman has made rapid strides in magnificent social reform work simply because in this country she is not strained and hampered by party connection.



As I have deviated a bit from "use" as phase to be considered, let me go back in so far as to touch on the dire use the vicious vote is put to in States where women vote.

In Helen Sumner's book on "Equal Suffrage" we are told that the red light district is freely used by the party in power, and not only are its women compelled to vote, but often to repeat. In answer to this the opponent says: "But the vicious vote exists in States where women don't vote, also the ignorant." Very well, I grant that, but why though, add another, and subject the specified vote above to usage. Frankly, there are many women, I think, who feel that they will better the moral condition of politics. Even if they be in earnest, they could not over-balance the present vicious and ignorant vote, nor countermand the evils brought about by what is left undone in their own department. That years ago suffrage may have appealed to women as a power back of a desire to open up certain industrial fields, had its power then, but time has eliminated any such plea as all over the country such avenues of employment have been opened to the American woman, and, let me emphasize, without the ballot. Therefore, why is it that the woman of to-day continues to think through the mind of Susan B. Anthony without broadening out and acquiring a more intimate knowledge of the time in which she now lives.

Were women on political committees in Susan B. Anthony's time? Yet we find here in New York, where Female Suffrage has not been adopted, women on all these committees. To this I anticipate the question, "Why if women are permitted on these committees, and to hold important positions, should the franchise be withheld from them?" Because since these things have been accomplished without the ballot, why the ballot?

Because of the expense necessitated by the extension of the franchise as in New York, it will mean the additional cost of \$1,000,000 for the yearly election, and in view of the many charitable demands for just such support, would it not be a fault to place it at the country's disposal an experiment that has been tried in other ages and found wanting?

Think, too, of the condition of male suffrage, which is only yet in experimental form. Expend money for the betterment of that. Men know the game, have played it, and if corruption exists then it is up to them to clean it up and not up to the country to install a new expensive substitute to do the work for them, work with which they are unfamiliar. Even some erudite men, as Philander Johnson tells us, dislike politics for the same reason that so many refined musicians dislike ragtime. They can't learn to play it. To many women it will mean the same thing.

As a woman I feel and know there is work to be done in the woman's department—cleaning up, let me frankly add. Do you suppose that many of these economic problems would exist were women to do a little auditing of their own home books? They certainly would not!

Lastly, let me quote the biggest and most number-rolling argument extended by the opponent. "The ballot will help the working woman." Were this true the opposition side would never have been born, or if born, born a cripple. But we learn from students of this one problem, the wage-earning question, that where women already vote it has had little if any effect over public or private employment. And those intimate with conditions in this country know that wage is directly under the control of the laws of demand and supply. As the working woman is quoted as saying, when asked her opinion on the question: "It is the same old question of demand and supply in this commercial world."

So in view of these, and many more arguments, I am earnestly opposed to the granting of woman suffrage which I consider not only an undemocratic step but which if granted, through the unpardonable gallantry of the American man, will tend to place at the disposal of the thinkers of to-morrow another intricate and gigantic problem.

Glad I am, though, that there are women to-day who have their ears tuned aright to catch the call for their much needed, non-partisan support. And I hope that the suffragists will realize in time to help in the work for balance rather than ballot.

Toma A. Lewis.

## WHY WOMAN SUFFRAGE WAS LOST IN OHIO.

### One Who Was Active in Campaign Throws New Light on the Defeat.

The woman suffragists at their recent convention in Philadelphia and upon various other occasions have explained in many ways the loss of Ohio to the suffrage cause at the election held in September. But a few reasons have not been mentioned in their list. Among them are the following:

One of the most important was the campaigning of the suffragists at the polls on election day. In Cleveland, men who had been in sympathy with the suffrage cause declared that this cost them at least hundreds of votes. Men objected, they said, to being held up on their way to the polls by women who demanded to know how they were going to vote and who insisted upon arguing the matter when the reply was unfavorable. More vital than this ir-

ritation and more influential still was the realization brought about by this campaigning, which was expressed by John Orgill, member of the election board. This opinion was quoted in the Cleveland press, the most ardent Cleveland advocate of equal suffrage in its election extras.

"The campaigning of the women at the polls lost them more votes than they will ever know" said Mr. Orgill. "It brought too close to home to the men the realization of how it would be to have their mothers and wives and sisters all out in such work in a few months more if the amendment should carry."

Another man in speaking of the same move on the part of the suffragists said: "It weakened my faith in the women's sincere intention to clean-up politics when all day long, in spite of warnings, they repeatedly violated the law which forbade them standing within 100 feet of the polls. Surely they

could not excuse this violation on the ground that it is an evil or unjust law, the argument used at various times by English suffragists."

Another thing was the "both sides of the fence" attitude of the suffragists on the liquor question. The voters admitted the justice of the announced attitude of the suffragists on this question,—that they stood neither for one thing nor another; had no idea how the women would vote on any one question, and took no official stand on any matter, either of politics, economics, or temperance. But the women deserted this policy very early in the game. Instead they talked to some people the need of woman's vote to bring about prohibition and at the same time begged other audiences to believe that this would not be done.

"Don't be afraid, boys," said Miss Margaret Foley, at Middletown, Ohio, addressing a labor union, "We're not going to take your beer away from



you." And in Cleveland many of the suffragists insisted that it was only their enemies who said of them that they would vote against the saloons.

The school suffrage was another situation which worked against the extension of woman suffrage in Ohio. The women over the state have not used the vote well on that and themselves admit it. In Cleveland only four per cent of the women vote when it comes time to elect board members and as a school teacher expressed herself to us, "This small number of women voters means just one thing—that those who vote are those who have something to gain or lose from the election. They have a personal grievance or they want a personal friend placed where it will mean advance to them personally. That is what leaves everything in a continuous turmoil in our schools here. The very women who ought to vote, those who are unbiased and unprejudiced in the elections do not vote."

The school board in Cleveland is always being "exposed" in the local papers, and is probably the greatest failure of any board in the city. Naturally the voters realize this.

Then, too, the voters of the state were not influenced as strongly in favor of suffrage by the jeers and sneers at the arguments and at the speakers for the anti-suffragists as they would have been by logical answers to these arguments. The suffragists undoubtedly were not to be blamed for this as the arguments are unanswerable, but when they contented themselves with laughing at the antis and responding to all proofs of the danger of woman suffrage with dramatic appeals for justice for the "poor downtrodden, enslaved" American woman, their cause was certainly weakened.

The menace of socialism and its probable strengthening by women's votes was a fifth reason why woman suffrage lost in Ohio by ninety thousand votes.

Harriet Taylor Upton, State president of the Woman Suffrage party in Ohio, is on the staff of the single tax magazine of the State and declares herself committed to other socialistic policies. An appeal was being constantly made to the socialists "to get out and work harder for the cause" and the socialists were confident in their declaration that with the aid of the women's votes "the American flag would come down in ten years and the red flag float over the country." This statement was made to us in the Anti-suffrage headquarters two or three times every week by enthusiastic socialists.

Then, the labor union vote, outside of the socialist element in the unions, was apposed to woman suffrage. The

men knew for one thing the fallacy of the suffragists' promise to help the working girls and working women, and they knew moreover that there would be many elections when the women of their own families would be unable to leave their duties and go to the polls, while the women of leisure, especially those without children or household cares of any kind, would be able to go whenever they were interested. The result would be the weakening of the working people's ballot power.

There were other local situations in various parts of the State which worked against the cause, such as Margaret Foley's bathing party at Myers' Lake, near Akron.

The claim has been made by the suffragists that the Catholic church used its influence against suffrage, as though that were anything to the discredit, either of the Catholic church or the anti-suffrage cause! Certainly the Catholic papers did come out against woman suffrage. They were actuated undoubtedly by the same reasons as were the hundreds of thousands of voters; and as papers representing the Catholic church they were against suffrage for two special reasons. These are the fight of the church against socialism and the fact that the Catholic church stands like a rock for the maintenance of the family and the home.

These then were the special local reasons why votes for women lost in Ohio. In addition to these the voters were actuated by the same reasons, too many to enumerate, which are leading the women of the entire country to rise up in a protest against having the ballot thrust upon them by a noisy minority.

Lucy J. Price, secretary Cleveland (O.) Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

#### "ANGLO-AMERICAN"

##### ON SUFFRAGE HERE.

"Anglo-American writing in the Harper's Weekly, after enumerating the many social, industrial and legal privileges enjoyed by American women, makes the following observation:

"To the amazement of all Europeans and especially of all Englishmen, this umbrageous feminine domination of things social, artistic, philanthropic, religious, educational and so on has hitherto been unaccompanied by any corresponding influence in the sphere of politics. Neither American women individually, nor the sex collectively carry anything like the same weight in the public life of the United States as they bear in England. Five or six States have, it is true, given them the vote,

but I make bold to say that Englishwomen exert already a hundred times more influence on British affairs and on British statesmen, even though they have no Parliamentary vote, than American women are likely to exert for a century to come. \* \* \* There is nothing in America, so far as I am aware, which at all resembles this. \* \* \* Even to come across an American woman with a real interest in and comprehension of politics is extremely rare; and I have never heard of an instance in American history in which a woman played a really decisive role. Like their sisters in all other republics, American women take an altogether secondary and insignificant part in national affairs."

If "Anglo American" had made a special comparison in this regard, he might have further remarked that this is especially true in Suffrage States.

#### SEX ANTAGONISM.

To the Editor of the New York Evening Post:

Sir: That we may forever make it impossible for the advocates of woman suffrage to deny that it is founded, propagated, and promulgated on the idea of sex antagonism, and that man is a conscious tyrant, I ask a place for this list of grievances which was adopted with a declaration of sentiments at the first convention called in this country to consider the so-called "rights of women:"

"(1.) The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having as direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her."

"(2.) He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise."

"(3.) He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she has had no voice."

"(4.) He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men."

"(5.) He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead."

"(6.) He has taken from her all right to property, even to the wages she earns."

"(7.) He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and, in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the unhappiness of the woman."

"(8.) After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government



which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it."

"(9.) He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her."

"(10.) He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in men."

"(11.) He has usurped the prerogatives of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God."

"(12.) He has endeavored, in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life."

This is the first time in suffrage literature that the word God occurs as far as I have ever seen. In fact, He seems to be left entirely out of their calculations. Article xi is most interesting. I do not remember to have heard it charged before—that man had a hand in the creation of woman, however he may have had a rib—but if so, he might be allowed one right, for the trouble he brought on himself, without its being charged as an injustice to the woman—the right to vote.

These twelve variously expressed, are the contentions of the women to-day, and they are perfectly ridiculous. They attempt to confuse the issue by the miserable subterfuge of trying to benefit the working girl, and such like claims, not one of which has been proved; and never have they been able to show the slightest connection between the vote and their claims. They deny chivalry, yet are depending on it that their claim be not denied. Their work in the world is sadly neglected, else the need for juvenile courts would be less, and evil resorts would not flourish to such an extent. Apparently, they claim that inefficiency in one direction is a proof of efficiency in another.

Are the men of this country really so gullible? Are they really allowing themselves to be hoodwinked by spectacular parades and loud-mouthed oratory (?) and blinded to the real and serious menace to the country through the homes? Are men and women blind to the serious deterioration of women incident to suffrage tactics, and the serious lowering of ideals which is daily apparent? Heaven send that they wake to the peril which not only threatens but is here.

TRUTH.

Philadelphia, November 10.

### ONLY FAVORED SUBMISSION.

State Federation of Women's Clubs Rejected Suffrage Preamble.  
To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: It was stated in an article in your paper of Wednesday, November 20, that Miss Mary Garrett Hay had "just accomplished the fine feat of bringing the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs into the suffrage fold."

I wish to challenge that statement, because it is exactly what she did not succeed in doing. The following preamble and resolution were brought up for discussion before the federation on Friday, November 15:

Whereas, Women are for economic reasons entering more widely into industrial and political activities, and whereas, thoughtful women realize that indirect influence is a slow and wasteful process for securing the protection of dependent children, justice for the wage earning women and the elimination of dangerous social conditions, and whereas, balloting is a more effective and dignified method than begging; therefore,

Resolved, That the federation indorse the submission of a constitutional amendment to the people of this State, granting the ballot to women.

If the preamble as well as the resolution had been passed, then the Federation of Clubs would have indorsed woman suffrage. Realizing this, I, as well as other women present who represented the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage strongly objected to the preamble, and many women who announced that they were suffragists spoke also against accepting it. A motion was made, which was carried, that the preamble and resolution be voted on separately. The preamble was lost, two to one; the resolution carried by a large majority, but not unanimously.

The Federation did not by its action officially indorse woman suffrage to any further extent than did the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage by its statement issued this morning that it favored the submission by the Legislature of a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage to the voters of the State, believing that the time had now come when the question should be defeated by the electorate.

In my paper, read before the Federation on Thursday evening, I stated that the Anti-Suffrage Association would take the action which is announced this morning.

MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE,

Chairman Executive Committee N. Y. State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. New York, Nov. 21, 1912.

(The foregoing letter to the New York Tribune corrects an erroneous impression and explains itself.)

The London Times states that both the majority and minority of the Divorce Commission will recommend that the sexes in England be henceforth equal before the law in the matter of divorce. That is, the Commission holds that it should no longer be incumbent on a wife to prove more against an unfaithful husband than the husband must prove against an unfaithful wife in order to secure a divorce. In America it is long since such an inequality existed, and an American woman can secure a divorce for several causes not allowed to men. If a commission should equalize divorce facilities in this country men would secure the right to divorce their wives for failure to support and in one Suffrage State for "mental cruelty." These privileges now belong alone to women.

### THAT SILLY STRAW BALLOT.

The "Straw Ballot" of the Suffragists, which recently appeared in the New York Evening Post, has excited so much comment that it is worth while reproducing the ballot here. The implication that women opposed to suffrage are selfish and lead more or less useless lives has been refuted often. Many of those women who are opposed to the suffrage, as is well known, are leaders in every movement for the betterment of social and economic conditions. However, here is the silly ballot:

#### For Child Welfare.

Suffrage: All children everywhere—  
Anti-suffrage: My own children at home.

#### For Pure Food.

Suffrage: From cow to kitchen—Anti-suffrage: In the kitchen only.

#### For Clean Streets.

Suffrage: By voice in municipal government—Anti-suffrage: My place is in the home.

#### For Lowered Cost of Living.

Suffrage: By direct action on laws and law-makers—Anti-suffrage: By indirect influence.

#### For Equal Pay.

Suffrage: For all women who toil—  
Anti-suffrage—Privileges not earnings.

#### For Abolition of White Slave Traffic.

Suffrage: By fighting it—Anti-suffrage: By ignoring it.

#### For Proper Working Conditions.

Suffrage: For everybody, everywhere—  
Anti-suffrage: For myself at home.

#### For Sanitary Conditions.

Suffrage: In homes, factories, shops—  
Anti-suffrage: In my own home.



## Notes and Comment

The Wizard of the North sang:  
 "O, woman, in your hours of ease,  
 Uncertain, coy and hard to please,  
 When pain and sickness wring the brow  
 A ministering angel thou!"

What horribly reactionary sentiments! How like a man! Women claim the right to be "uncertain, coy and hard to please" when and where they like, in Parliament, on the stock exchange or anywhere else. "In our hours of ease," indeed! We don't intend to have any more "hours of ease," and as for being a "ministering angel," that would be a base betrayal of the cause. A woman with a political career cannot be expected to be sitting about waiting for fever to break. She is called to a higher mission than giving or preserving life. What the country needs is talk and a large supply of candidates and she flies at the call of duty to put herself to the front.

It is becoming a Suffrage dogma that as soon as women can be induced to abandon their traditional duties great political talents will be developed among them.

The handful of women who want to vote have spent much time, talk and money trying to convince the pensive electors of the reforms the solid female vote will bring about. But, alas! for unity. They already belong to as many parties as there are parties to belong to. How can the woman's vote make any difference whatever to women if it so closely divides with the sectional interests of men? As long as women's interests continue to be the same as those of their husbands and children this sad condition must prevail. And there is only one cure. Absolute divorce or strict celibacy! Onward!

A Suffragist who wrote from Colorado three years ago: "The social atmosphere here makes me feel like barring my doors and windows to keep it out. There is no special sense of duty

or obligation in either man or woman, and a lax acceptance of any and everything (Here a few instances were given). I feel that my soul is being killed.

\* \* \* I have never seen anything quite like it anywhere." The same woman in a newspaper interview now says: "Whether women's votes will uplift man, purify politics or close saloons is quite beside the question." Apparently, she has quite accepted the intolerable social conditions which shocked her at first. May we conclude that the soul murder is a fait accompli? She no longer wishes to bar out the atmosphere and any improvement is "quite beside the question." It was only necessary to realize that the unique conditions she describes were essential to the "cause" to make them endurable.

What is wanted in marriage is not equality, but equilibrium. Equality suffocates husband or wife; equilibrium establishes fair proportions and consideration between them.

"An easy way to stop the complaint about the high cost of living will be to give women the ballot. With the means in their own hands, we should quickly see economic conditions greatly improved." Unfortunately, however, nothing of the kind has occurred in suffrage States. The only thing there which is noticeably lower is woman's wages and woman's influence.

## THE RAMPANT SUFFRAGETTE.

I am a rampant suffragette,  
 I want to run the earth, and yet  
 I do not care to cut my hair  
 Or men's most homely clothes to wear.

Consideration is my due,  
 And admiration I want, too;  
 The tradesman groans when I throw  
 stones;  
 For women's wrongs thus he atones.

I want in everything a voice,  
 To vote for whom may be my choice;  
 But if a broil should rend the soil  
 For soldiers must the men stand royal.

I like to march by bright torch light,  
 Protected by police of might..  
 Things men have faced don't suit my  
 taste;  
 Dangers of sea and desert waste.

I hear my sisters 'cross the sea  
 Have campaigned most relentlessly;  
 With foul intent, the boxes meant  
 For mail they fill with varnish and cement.

Victorious in Kansas, they  
 A hot bonfire at once display;  
 It was a nice, old-time device  
 To offer up burnt sacrifice..

I want, I badly want the vote;  
 I want to rock the nation's boat;  
 But, Oh, my friends, mere man contends

I want the middle and both ends.  
 Anna M. Fielding.

## RIGHTS OF WOMEN

O Woman, why need'st thou in struggle  
 seek  
 Thy freedom from the rule of Man,  
 thy son!  
 Hast thou not ever, as the weaker  
 one,  
 In times of peril, when all laws are  
 weak,  
 Save those which gallant men of honor  
 speak,  
 Found that Man will, whene'er it  
 need be done,  
 Die for thy sake— Since records were  
 begun,  
 It has been so—thou farest well, though  
 meek.

'Tis not in bitter conflict thou canst  
 hope  
 To keep the high position which thou  
 hast;  
 But with thy wisdom, love and purity  
 Thou canst attain that fro which some  
 now grope.  
 Teach well thy sons, trust Man as in  
 the past—  
 And thou shalt have thy rights on  
 land and sea.

—CHARLES H. MEIERS.



## STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP.

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MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE,

Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this third day of November, 1912.

PHILIP F. SHANLEY,

Notary Public,

New York County, No. 292.

(My commission expires March 30, 1913.)

(SEAL.)

WOMEN DEMAND RIGHT  
TO SERVE UPON JURIES

Equal Suffrage Association Takes Up  
Cudgels—Would Abolish Capital Punishment in Colorado.

From the Denver Republican,  
Nov. 14, 1912.

The women of the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association want the right to serve on juries, and for the purpose of securing this right they are planning to introduce a bill before the next Legislature making all women taxpayers liable to the call of the jury commissioner. An announcement to this effect was made at the jubilee meeting at the Savoy Hotel last night in celebration of the victory of equal suffrage in four States.

Although they want the right to sit on criminal trials, the members do not want to be responsible for the taking of a human life by legal means. Therefore, they intend first abolishing capital punishment. A bill will be introduced early in the next session of the Legislature.

"We see no reason why women should not serve on juries," said Mrs. Harriet G. R. Wright, president of the association. "Women have as much right to try cases against men as men have to try women, and we intend to have it be-

fore two years have passed. We do not believe in capital punishment and we are going to have that abolished immediately. There is no such thing as legal murder, we believe."

## IN DOUBT

I wish I knew how Nellie stands upon this woman's suffrage thing, And if the right to cast a vote to her much happiness would bring, I wish that I could get her views, but every time that I have tried The subject I have had to drop, because just then the baby cried.

If eagerly she wants to vote, don't think that I'd stand in her way; Some literature upon this cause I took her just the other day, She glanced at it and put it down, "I haven't time, just now," said she, "To read all that. I've got to make another dress for Marjorie."

I've been determined that I'd learn her attitude on women's rights, And I have tried to introduce the subject many, many nights, But always she preferred to tell of what the little ones had done And all the quaint things they had said, and so my quest was ne'er begun.

It may be Nellie wants to vote, but I have never heard her say, Her mind is occupied, it seems, with other matters through the day. And anyhow, when'er to get her views on public things I've tried, The subject I have had to drop, because just then the baby cried.

—Edgar A. Guest,  
In Detroit Free Press.

TWELVE LOGICAL REASONS  
WHY MINORS SHOULD VOTE

(Suggested by "Twelve Logical Reasons Why Women Should Vote.")

1. Because there is no just government without the consent of the governed. Minors are governed without their consent.

2. Because many minors own property and therefore should have a voice in matters concerning street cleaning, lighting, policing, etc., and especially in obtaining a pure milk supply. As minors are the principal attendants at school they should have a voice in educational matters and be consulted as to the fixing of holidays, hours of study, curriculum, etc.

3. Because taxation without representation is tyranny.

4. Because children can get no justice in juvenile courts unless minors are permitted to serve as judges.

There should be at least one child on every jury.

5. Because it is unjust and arbitrary to debar citizens from a share in government because of age. Many children know more than their parents and some have better brains, also many geniuses develop before the age of 21.

7. Because minors object to being classified with idiots and criminals and also being governed by woman-made laws. They propose to eliminate age from politics.

8. Because a pure democracy means a government in which all are equal. Why should a whole class of individuals be disfranchised many of whom pay taxes on property and are capable of military service in time of war simply because they are under 21?

9. Because minors represent the most progressive element in the nation and see danger in turning over the government to a lot of reactionaries, many of them over thirty.

10. Because the services of the minor in the home receive no financial compensation, yet many children help their mothers and some are entitled to full servant's wages as "little mothers."

11. Because conditions have greatly changed since the child's place was at school or in the home. Thousands of children are now forced out of the home and are helping to support the family in factories. These children need a vote in order to protect their industrial interests and in order to improve the conditions under which they live. It is folly to say that children are supported by their parents and can be represented by them. Many children have no parents and many work for themselves. Orphans at least should be entitled to vote.

12. Because children are human beings (so are idiots and criminals!) and "justice, simple justice" requires that all human beings vote. J. T. W.

## "WOULD HURT THE SPORT"

Mrs. Gus Ruhlin, widow of the late Gus Ruhlin, saloon keeper and one-time heavyweight boxer, called on the promoters of the Royal A. C. Saturday night in an endeavor to secure the Clermont avenue rink, in which she proposed staging a few boxing bouts in connection with a combined Progressive and women's suffrage rally. After quite an extended interview with Charley Doesserick, manager of the club, Mrs. Ruhlin left with the knowledge that she would be unable to retain the arena for any such purpose.

According to Doesserick, who judged Mrs. Ruhlin's efforts from the boxing standpoint, an affair of this kind would bring unenviable notoriety to the sport. —Brooklyn Citizen.



## The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

FOUNDED 1895

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 Woman's Rights in America *By Mrs. Caroline F. Corbin*  
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Complete set 50 cts.

Single copies 5 cts.

### BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

- On Suffrage (0.5) *G. K. Chesterton*  
 Votes for Women (.10) *Frederic Harrison*  
 Woman Adrift (\$1.50) *Harold Owen*  
 The Ladies Battle (\$1.00) *Molly Eliot Seawell*  
 Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25)  
 Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) *Grace Duffield Goodwin*  
 Woman and the Republic (25c.) *Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*  
 The Business of Being a Woman (1.50) *Ida Tarbell*  
 Anti-Suffrage Calendar for 1911, with many interesting quotations.  
 These can be obtained by applying to the Woman's Protest.

We recommend to our readers the new Monthly, THE COMMON CAUSE, which is opposed to Socialism. Subscription \$2.00. Office, 154 East 23rd Street. Also, THE HOME DEFENDER, Hoquiam, Wash.

Some pamphlets issued by the Massachusetts Association opposed to the further extension of suffrage to women:

- Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage *Francis Parkman*  
 Of What Benefit to Woman?  
 Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage *Jeannette L. Gilder*  
 Letter to Legislative Committee *Mrs. Clara T. Leonard*  
 Argument Before Committee *Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells*  
 Municipal Suffrage for Women. Why? *Frank Foscraft*  
 Taxpaying Suffrage *Charles R. Saunders*  
 The Wage-earning Woman and the State *Minnie Bronson*  
 Rights and Exemptions Given by Massachusetts Law to Women and Not to Men  
 Opinions of Eminent Persons Against Woman Suffrage  
 In Opposition to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women (a List of Massachusetts Men)  
 Woman's Power and Woman Suffrage *Ida M. Tarbell*

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.....1912

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### SUFFRAGISTS ARE

### SENTENCED TO JAIL.

Aberdeen—A number of suffragettes who annoyed Chancellor of the Exchequer Lloyd George during his recent visit to this city aer to-day serving terms in jail on various charges. As they were led from the court room they shouted defiantly: "No surrender; we'll protest in prison!"

London—Despite the vigilance of the police the suffragettes are again pouring fluid into the street mail boxes. They poured paint into a wall box in the Threadneedle street post office to-day. This office is almost next door to the Bank of England. Considerable damage was done to the letters and documents in the box.